PERSONAL PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY

A

# FARMER'S LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE

GENTLEMEN OF LANDED PROPERTY

IN

IRELAND.



LA LOL Europetian takk .... rangons duaments infra IRELES AND

### FARMER'S LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE

### GENTLEMEN OF LANDED PROPERTY

IN

#### IRELAND.

Every Nobleman and Gentleman in the Kingdom, as well as Farmer, being materially interested in this well timed Essay, which first made its appearance in a new Publication, intitled the EVENING HERALD on GENERAL ADVERTISER; which is rapidly hastening to an extensive Circulation not only on account of said Letters and various other Writings, acknowledged to be the best Productions that ever graced any News Paper in this Kingdom; but the unwearied attention and diligence of the Proprietors in obtaining the best materials, and information both foreign and domestic, and using every proper exertion in extending a universal Circulation thereof throughout the World.

the fate

#### DUBL

PRINTED BY ROBERT id every argument
Lower Ormoniut I confess, with-

MDCCLXX

out

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
MAY, 28, 1913
SUBSCRIPTION FOR
ENGLISH HISTORICAL TRACTS

And the second of the law or the legal of the second contract of the second plant of the second of the second contract of the second cont

"All of one open could have a seal

CIAFRAGAA

moder to very

WAR KINE

and a self-strain or of or of the self-strain

## FARMER'S LETTER

and powerful peografic of mion, indeed,

Gentlemen of Landed Property

even injure (dell, to benefic anothes country tone viewed by he with a jeal at look

IRELAND.

who elve their unbiadled voices to every ad-

BEFORE the total rejection of the propositions offered by England to this kingdom, I amongst the rest, felt all the solicitude of one, who loving his country, could not be an unconcerned spectator of what engaged so deeply the sate of the nation.

I turned in my mind every argument urged by both fides, but I confess, with-

B

out

out being able to form a clear idea, whether the benefits we were to receive, were not over-balanced by the price we were to pay for them.

One set of men were eager to shew that England was willing to grant us every thing that could make us suddenly a rich and powerful people: this opinion, indeed, had a great weight, (especially when it was considered how probable it is, that one nation would not only divide its profits, but even injure itself, to benefit another country long viewed by her with a jealous look askance) besides being supported by that virtuous and truly disinterested set of men, who give their unbiassed voices to every administration.

The opposite side maintained, that under the specious pretext of regulating and extending your commerce, views were entertained destructive of your freedom and independence; and that one nation paid a subsidy to another for a protection it did not want, was in fact ridiculous, and what an high-spirited people would never submit to.

Thefe

These different opinions were debated with equal ingenuity and great heat—during this long struggle, the minds of men were held in anxious suspence; nor did I conceive in this turbulent period, that an humble voice could reach your ears amongst the clamours of party, and the jars of contending interests.

Their total rejection has now produced a calm, and to the aftonishment of the world, you have laid an heavy weight of taxes on the necks of your patient countrymen—the benefits you expected to receive, you were willing to pay 140,000l. a year for—and then for not receiving these benefits, you are yet content to pay this enormous sum.

It may reasonably be supposed, that these propositions coming from a country long practised in commerce (and our sincere well-wishers besides) contained the best, wisest and most disinterested system for us, who were not able, such was the imbecillity of our understandings, to form one for ourselves.

It was a glorious spectacle to behold a young and virtuous minister, his bosom B 2 glowing glowing with the bright flame of patriotism, exerting himself so strenuously, for the good of a country, which he never saw; putting every engine in motion, turning every wheel, and exerting the whole weight of government to make them accept the gracious boon.

It was also, not a little furprising to see the bulk of an intelligent people, obstinately refuse the proffered bleffing; happy Ireland, pour out thy foul in gratitude to thy dear, thy affectionate fifter England, who meant you fo well; who ever fince the Revolution, has been leading you step by step to the vast prosperity you now enjoy: with all the fond folicitude of an ever watchful parent, she anxiously looked forward to your rifing greatness-still does she dread the thoughts of giving from her careful hands, the leading strings, with which she has so long held you, " lest at any time you might dash your foot against a stone."

She has provided you a guard of twelve thousand men in peace, of five in war not to protect you from foreign invasion it would feem, so much as domestic trouble.

Your

Your Volunteers, once fondly thought the facred guardians of your rights, whose drums never beat in your peaceful villages, but every heart throbbed with joy;—arrayed in military pomp, they were viewed with veneration and love, not with fear and jealousy; for they were your brothers, sons and friends; every heart was in union with their cause, for it was the cause of freedom. Blessings warm from the heart, were showered on their heads—wherever they marched, they were received with unfeigned affection, whilst the air resounded with the shouts of their applauding countrymen.

The admiration of foreign nations, the pride of your own! the friends of liberty viewed them with rapture and joy, its enemies with despair and forrow—a blot was endeavoured to be dropt on that fame, that was as fair as Diana's visage; their very memories were wished to be obliterated, or sunk into a mercenary militia, who bid as fair to stand high in the opinion of their fellow citizens, as the Fencibles of honourable memory! Nor is England willing to do things by halves, long has

she taken care even of your spiritual concerns, denying herself the assistance, of many of her most holy and pious men; she has sent them, and will, please God, continue so to do (having always a fresh set ready) to enlighten you by their preaching, and improve you by their good examples; our young clergy strive to emulate their virtues, though hopeless of succeeding to their dignities.

But to proceed to the main object of this address, it is certainly wise in a nation to establish manufactures and extend her commerce; it is the means of becoming rich, populous and great; but it must be observed that the basis of commerce, should rest on an enlightened system of agriculture. This must be your ground-work, on this sure and sirm foundation only, can you hope to build with any prospect of success.

Otherwise, let your foundation be ever so broad, and build on as rapidly as you will, you may have the mortification of sinding your work narrow every day, and like a pyramid, at last end in a point.

Commerce

Commerce at the best is precarious, a rival nation may undersell you abroad in your favourite manufacture, or even in your own market; the truth of which, I believe, we feel at this day; while the rage of introducing manufactures continues, beware lest you do too much, and grasping at a shade, neglect your true interest.

I would have you encourage them with frugality. A manufacture may be a burthen to you, by excessive bounties on its subsistence; take care it does not absorb the profits of its industry, nor let induspence exceed the pace of labour.

If the manufacture be an exotic, ill calculated for our climate, large bounties may give it being and force it into existence; it will swallow up so much that the hand of liberality cannot be stretched to other branches, which may require its aid; lest to itself it may probably languish for a time, and sicken so as not to be worth your farther assistance. I would not have the benevolence of the nation, wasted on precarious

did they not arrive

precarious manufactures, nor draw from the earnings of honest industry, to support what may never come to perfection.

No manufacture can be of real use to a country, that will not force its own way, first opening the channels through which it is to flow.

People may propose establishing works on a large scale without capitals of their own, but depending on the aid of Parliament, they may call thousands into immediate employment; but should your potent neighbour, with jealous eye and immense capital at command, undersell you in this favoured branch; what then becomes of all these wretched beings, are they not to be added to the class of those, whose clamours, have disgraced your capital—swarming your streets with beggary, inebriation and idleness? where then are all your visions of sudden wealth, vanished with the slimsy fabric?

The flourishing, rich and populous towns of Bermingham, Sheffield, Manchester, &c. that form such a mortifying contrast with the best of our own, did they not arrive

at this greatness by the large capitals and unwearied industry of individuals, whose all was at stake; and consequently, whose all depended on bringing to market goods cheaper and better than their neighbours; and where did they get this wealth originally from, that enabled them to catch at the first openings of commerce, but from their agriculture.

But are we now in the same situation that England was; when she began to extend her commerce she was a populous, rich and powerful nation; did she not from her own bosom pour forth armies that like a deluge, over-spread the mighty kingdom of France; her troops invincible; from whence were they taken but from her gallant yeomanry, the sons of agriculture; her country swarmed with people, her fields waved with plenty, her peasantry well fed, robust; her yoemen independent.

I hope it will not be imagined by this, that I would feem to have no regard to the great utility of manufactures, or am ignorant of their benefits to a country; the fact is, I am so throughly sensible of it, that I know of but one thing in the world that can come in competition with them in point

of real advantage to the nation, and that is your agriculture; the true fource of greatness, the stamina of all countries. It is here my countrymen, I would wish to gain your attention; you see it is possible for a country to be rich and powerful, and I may add happy, even without many manufactures, or an extended commerce.

Be affured, that unless you are more attentive to the true interests of your country, by encouraging your poor farmers, you will be miserably deceived in the end, and after running a circle of vexatious trials be ultimately obliged to come back to that very point, from which I now warn you to set out; namely, to let the foundations of your commerce rest on a proper system of agriculture.

Throw your eyes around ye great landlords, for it is from you redress must come; look which way you will—view your country from end to end, and see if poverty, distress and misery, does not pervade the whole.

Behold the hovel of your peafant, black and comfortless, built with mud, and covered slightly with potatoe-stalks, fods, or a little

a little straw; a chimney composed of an old bee-hive; an hole to admit the light; -if the wind be too sharp, straw is stuffed in, &c. this is the only shutter it has at night; the door, indeed in some measure ferves for a window, by freely admitting along with every breeze that ftirs, a large portion of light through its wide chinks: round a wretched fire, gleaned from the neighbouring hedges fits the aged grandmother and numerous offspring, fqualid, pale, naked and half-starved; their fole employment, gathering dry sticks to boil their potatoes, the unvarying food of this wretched family; a scanty portion of these are distributed amongst them; the larger part is taken off by the wife in a wooden platter, tied up in her gown and carried to the father for his dinner—through frost or fnow, or rain, or biting winds, or parching heat; bare-foot, she daily takes him this food above a mile perhaps-beneath the shelter of an hedge she sits by his side 'till he has finished his chearless mealdry-dry-through the whole year.

A celebrated Tour-writer endeavours to make you smile at his description of a pig in an Irish cabbin, with his nose in the same platter of potatoes with the rest of the samily, and says that "though this is not so poetical

I allow, that some are enabled to keep an half starved cow, and others arrive at the luxury of sour milk, but these classes are not numerous; many are they who seed on buck potatoes, happy if they can even get enough of this wretched food.

How chearily must he go to his work so fed,--ill-clad--with what comfort does he look to the reward of his daily toil, fixpence.

The hearth-money man is now come to visit them, he seizes the pot that boils their potatoes, or the rug beneath which,

poetical an idea, is far preferable to the broken cups and faucers that grace the shelf of the English peasant; the Irish cottager," continues he, "has pigs and poultry, his apparent poverty is greater than the reality."

Unluckily the reverse of this is exactly the case; for his poverty, indeed, is beyond compare—has he a pig? 'tis for his master at Christmas, to whom he is always miserably in debt—has he poultry? the eggs go every morning to the master and mistress, who cannot breakfast without them—If the mistress can procure wheels through interest, or if her husband is a member of the board, she very charitably gives them to the poor women on her land, and only asks in return, so much shax to be spun by them for her see; in sact, she gets the wheels for nothing, and sells them to the poor.

on a fcanty portion of straw lie the wretched family.

Gracious heaven! and do fuch as these help to pay standing armies, and support the luxury of place-men and pensioners; could not this tax on the unfortunate be done away?

This being the state of your neglected peasantry, how fares it with those of an higher class? your farmers who hold from fifty to two hundred acres of land, you will suppose their state at least eligible; a man who holds a farm of that magnitude should be a man of substance. Let us see:

This man's habitation is not much better than the hovel of the cottager; the furniture of a piece with the rest, a few wooden vessels, trenchers seldom or never soiled with meat, two or three pots and a couple of stools, compose the whole; the children squat, half naked and barefooted round the sire; a car, or plough, or barrow, stuffed into gaps supply the place of gates; lean horses with drooping looks, milk kine with bones starting thro' the skin, speak but too plainly their miserable and scanty pastures; crops of corn striving in vain for mastery

with weeds, evinces the incapacity of the owner to till his ground with effect.

A few mutilated ash trees crown the whole; suppose his lease expired, hopeless of favour from an hard landlord, or his more unfeeling agent, he has made the place worse than it was possible to conceive.

Proposals to be received and kept fecret 'till such a day, when the tenant will be declared; could he have left his place in tolerable order, he conceives it would be enhancing the value of it, for which he would be made to pay, even for his own improvement.

With trembling hand he gives in his proposals, with palpitating heart he waits on his lord!\* "You have not bid high enough—mend your proposal, you are outbid—can it be his neighbour, his friend to whom he has unbosomed himself with considence, that out-bids him? Oh! cruel system, barbarous policy, that unbinds the bands of society, and cuts asunder the strongest ties of men; ultimately ruining yourselves, by putting the lands of the kingdom up to public cant. "Tis better

<sup>\*</sup> This is literally true, a great man now deceased, used to brow-beat his tenantry in this manner, and helped to bring in this odious system of secret proposals.

worth your while," fays the wily agent, "than any other person to give the highest for it;" thus spiriting up the unfortunate wretch to his destruction, who considers that if he cannot pay his rent, he may become a cottager at least; he accordingly mends his proposal, encreases his Lord's rent-roll, adds to the agent's sees, pays two guineas for leases, and signs himself slave for thirty-one years longer; or if a protestant, three lives are annexed.\*

Behold your Yeoman;—and have I in this sketch exceeded the bounds of sober truth? I appeal to yourselves you great, if in any one moment of your existence, you ever turned your eyes from the prospect of places, pensions, ribbands, stars and glittering coronets, to behold the humble dwellers upon earth.

Our Yeoman is now settled on his farm, at a rack rent 'tis true; but industry, we may suppose, will do much, if left unshackled with hard labour he might pay

<sup>\*</sup> If any one reads the leases of his Grace—, or the Marquis of—, or Lord—, or Lord—, or Mr.—, he will see such a system of slavery as is astonishing; besides the rent-sees, &c. &c. there is duty sowl, duty turf, duty horses, duty work,—sad remains of seudal oppression; they cannot even mortgage their farms, without the consent of their Lords, &c.

his rent, and with favourable times, might look to lay up a little for his old age: vain imagination!—fuperadded to what the reft of the community pay in taxes to government, he has the grand-juries to tax himvexatiously tax him-he pays the whole tax of the country, his masters having wisely as well as humanely, shifted these matters from themselves -- they sit free on their demesnes so make what roads they please, no matter how useless, to oblige people; no matter how worthless-the money applied, no matter how scandalously; for poor farmer you must bear it all, you have the comfort of feeing from fixpence to a shilling an acre, perhaps added to your rackrent--we might suppose an enlightened government would not suffer the subject to be doubly taxed, by the great council of the nation collectively, and by the grand-juries also-hard measures; yet even so, and with difadvantage of fluctuating corn-markets, you might live, but the largest is still behind, the collossus of oppression stands over you to bind your mind and body in everlafting chains

Know you not, that the sons of the prophets must have pottage, your tythes are yet unpaid, ye miserable sons of the earth,

earth, and 'tis you alone who are fingled out, to support in splendor a numerous and luxurious clergy.

Oh! unwife ancestors, ye who could lay your bold hands on the ill-gotten treasures of voluptuous monks, unprisoning their angels, why did you not advance one step further, and abolish for ever the most heartbreaking, vexatious and impolitic tax that ever was impefed on the patience of man; a tax that grows with his growth, a canker that consumes his vitals, a tax on industry: good heaven! how unwife: the more the tiller of the earth toils, the more he pays; why should its baneful effects be felt only by the most laborious and hard-working part of the community. The fat grazier escapes it, the mechanic, the tradesman escapes it, that it may fall heavier on the head of the unfortunate farmer; ye manufacturers who are fostered by subscriptions and bounties, what if the tenth of your industry and hard earnings were annually to be claimed, your tumults would shake the capital.

Think not by this I would have the clergy unprovided for, thank heaven, there is little danger on that head; but is

"Humility so ponderous a virtue as to require fix horses to drag it along."

The farmer sees with indignation the business of each parish done for sifty pounds a year, and yet the enormous sums levied to support the grandeur of men he seldom sees, tho carefully reminded of by their amiable Nuncio, the tythe-proctor, whose livelihood depends on giving them the highest price for their parish, and then squeezing the last farthing from the farmer; sometimes has their zeal been attended with the loss of their ears, sometimes even with life,—What a system!

Would it not be wife to alter or alleviate the farmers sufferings in this point, even without taking a shilling from the vast revenues of the clergy. I never knew a farmer, rich or poor, who would not pay for the maintenance of these holy-men, even as high as he ever paid any one year for his tythe, only let the sum be fixt, let it be ascertained how much he has to pay; suppose an acreable charge, paid into the hands of the Hearth-money collector, giving the clergy a power to draw on the Treasury for the amount of their several livings;

then might government tax the aggregate of all this mass of wealth, and be enabled to relax a little from the pressure which they are forced to lay on the heads of the indigent classes of mankind.

Was the farmer relieved in this, he might sum up to a certainty all his expences; and providing for them, might give his improving genius full scope, and unbroke in upon by annual-valuers of his crop, reap securely the fruits of his honest industry.

Many good clergymen would rejoice that the mode was altered, as then they would be paid " not grudgingly, but with chearfulness." He has the tenth of your property, but that does not fuffice; every event that happens your family, weddings, births, deaths, even the purifications of your women, &c. &c. benefit him equally, be they fortunate or calamitous to you; the enemy. of mankind with his plotting head, could not have devised a surer method of disuniting men from their pastors, than by the introduction of tythes and small dues; were these things altered for the better, many are the good effects which would follow; here would end at once those noca furer method of quelling this dangerous fpirit than any yet devised; more sure and certain than hosts of armed men, or even than a *Police Bill*; even supposing that government arms with cross-bows, every one of their holy brotherhood.

"Give your peasantry property and you give them police." Mr. Flood.

You see what difficulties your poor farmer labours under; hence the miserable state of your tillage, the ruined face of your country; you fet him land at a rack rent, you weigh him down with taxes, you leave not even his industry free, you then wonder at his wretched habitation; though you know he had no property when he came on your lands, the truth is, you care notyou receive your rents and there your wishes end. Be more liberal, build for him,your neighbours do fo for their tenantry, make his abode like that of an human creature, enable him to feed better; and then fee whether he is in fact, that lazy rascal whom no encouragement will mend, an appellation that you are ready enough to bestow on him at home and abroad; a pitiful excuse

for your oppression,—you say that encouragement ruins them, and the lower class of people must be kept down; so say the humane planters in the West Indies, when accused of treating their Negroes unmercifully.

That the farmer looks upon his own condition as the most wretched of any other class, may be seen by his endeavouring to put out his children to trades, instead of bringing them up to his own profession, to the manifest hurt, I may say certain destruction of your internal strength.

Not even the bounties of the Dublin Society, can be of use, so perverted is every thing that was ever meant to do him good; you offer him bounties to bring his corn to Dublin, and he is stopped in the precincts of your city, where his sacks are opened and a portion of his corn taken away; you make him pay for public scales which should be free; you give with one hand and you suffer it to be taken by another.

The introduction of clover with judicious management, would be of the utmost utility to fertilize and renovate your worn-

out corn countries, exhaufted by everlasting ploughings; to encourage this fystem, a premium is held out of twenty shillings for every acre you fow with clover agreeable to a mode prescribed to be paid a year after the feed is fown. If the premium is meant to benefit the poor farmer, I will ask any man who knows the fituation of these people, where they can, in the midst of their spring business, in the dearest time of the year, when every resource is exhausted to pay his rent, tythes, &c. where I fay, is he then to procure five or ten pounds to lay out in clover feed, that he is unacquainted with the benefits of; and after all, to plough it in a manner, perhaps, contrary to his own ideas; of what use, I would ask can this be to him, who has no money to lay out, nor if he had, would he like to expend it on what might be of precarious iffue ?

I speak from facts: I know that this set of men would be glad to sow clover, but I know also, that they cannot afford it though certain of being paid the bounty.

Amongst the claimants, I'll venture to fay, the Society will have no premium to pay those

those whom one might suppose they intended to benefit.

Have you a mind to be of real use to your poor farmer, give him the feed to fow after his own fashion; but to such as are willing to follow the mode laid down by the Society, let a premium be superadded, a ware-house might be opened in each tillage country, and the feeds delivered out to fuch as really intended to fow them; the feeds to be given to a particular fet of men alone, this would be encouraging with some prospect of success; of what utility to farming in general, is the expensive machinery in Poolbeg ffreet? will the common farmer of this kingdom, be able to pay the enormous fum of two guineas for a plough, when he can get one made at home to answer all his purposes, for less than a fixth of the money?

Give ploughs and harrows, and rollers and horse-rakes, as premiums to the best common farmers in each county; give horse-hoes and hoe-ploughs, for the encouragement of drill potatoes, but do not let your gentlemen run away with all the premiums.

In each county town, a plough might be shown, which if approved of by a meeting of real farmers, might be kept as a pattern, and ploughs made after that fashion would soon become general.

What if so much money was granted annually for these truly useful purposes?

You have in each county, a large uncouth building, of barbarous architecture and gloomy aspect, within whose walls are pent up from twenty to fifty little wretches. of fickly look, usefully employed in knitting blue or yellow stockings, or spinning; usurping the occupations of women; instead of a snuffling psalm-singing master, fet over them an ingenious mechanic skilled in the various arts of making every implement of husbandry; let him teach the infant hands of these now useless children, (useless to themselves and useless to the public) to fashion after models, all forts of tools; here your farming Committees might fit, and from hence be distributed your rewards to the industrious farmer: a portion of land appropriated to agriculture, allotted to each school, should be laid

laid out and cultivated in various modes by these little ones, who would then become when apprenticed out to farmers, useful and good servants.

And though I own that this would break in on their hours of study a little, yet it need not entirely hinder them from elevating their voices in the parish Church to the great comfort, if not delight of all the old women in the Parish; I do not meddle here with those fweet babes in your capital, who in white bands and yellow stockings, preceded by their masters, in exact order march two by two, fweetly finging Hallelujahs through your streets; this is indeed, a truly edifying and christian fight, and no doubt, helps to draw down fome of those many bleffings we enjoy; exclusive of the emoluments of their masters, and the many fine and excellent fermons, which the newspapers tell us Doctor-, and the Rev., and the Bishop of-, preached such a day for them, and all the money which was collected, from the pious congregations.

I meddle not with these:--

Are all these matters beneath the attention of Parliament? I trust they are not.

Extend your fisheries, work your coal mines, give bounties on your corn coastwife, or by inland navigation; guard your farmer from rapacious tythe-proctors, restrain the power of grand Juries from taxing him, let him feel himself a man: Then, and not 'till then, will he begin to breathe and fee his fields under flourishing crops, his cottage look gay, his children well fed, well cloathed; a healthy and numerous offspring would arise; your kingdom improved in agriculture would encrease in population, from the overflowing of which, hands fufficient would be found for the various manufactures that you then might establish, with prospects of certain success; chearful industry would extend its bleffings to the gloomy abode of the ill-fed cottager, now pining in wretchedness, rags and dirt; the fad but never-failing attendants of extreme poverty.

His wages would be raifed, and by drawing them into imiling hamlets, instead of living dispersed on your lands, they would gradually civilize, and have some ideas of living like human creatures, peaceable and amenable to the laws.

You will then have a fource of greatness, and real strength within yourselves, that the malice of your enemies cannot rob you of.

And it is to this my countrymen I wish to turn your thoughts, the road is open, 'tis the common cause of all, and calls for all your best endeavours to give it energy and effect.

Sensible I am, how weak my efforts are to place a subject of this magnitude in its true point of view, and more embarrassing, as being my first essay; happy if these loose thoughts should meet the approbation of some one whose abilities and inclinations, would lead him to shew these matters in a more striking light; and doubly happy, if the smallest good should arise to the most useful and neglected class of men in the community, the patient tillers of the earth.

I shall conclude this sketch with an extract from the writings of the incomparable ABBE REYNAL, the friend of man, who says in his Philosophical History of the European settlements in the East and West Indies, vol. iv. page 484. Dub. Edition.

"Every thing indeed depends upon, and arises from the cultivation of land, it forms " power which comes from any other

" fource except the land, is artificial and

" precarious, either in natural or moral

" philosophy.

"Industry and commerce which do not "act immediately upon the agriculture of "a country, are in the power of foreign "nations, who may either dispute these advantages through emulation, or deprive the country of them through envy.

This may be done either by establishing the same branch of industry amongst,
themselves, or by suppressing the exportation of their own unwrought materials,
or the importation of these materials in
manufacture. But a state well manured
and well cultivated, produces men by the
fruits of the earth, and riches by those
men.

"This is not the teeth which the Dra"gon fows to bring forth foldiers to de"ftroy each other—it is the milk of Juno,
"which peoples the heavens with an in"numerable number of stars."